

*Hon. Henry Clay*

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THE  
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**Africa.**

**PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.**

THE same causes which have hindered the civilization, and darkened the history of Africa, continue also to render very imperfect its civil and physical geography. In view of this imperfection, however, it is peculiarly gratifying to know, that it will soon be removed; not by the theories of ingenious or presuming projectors, but by the eyes and energies of enterprising and resolute observers. With regard to our knowledge of the present state of Africa, and what is more, with regard to extending a saving and a civilizing influence over it, *nil est desperandum*, may now be placed high on our standard. The laws and powers of the moral world are assuming an aspect and an energy, that will throw far in the shade the discoveries of Watt and of Newton; and human skill and enterprise are fast hastening to the extreme limits of possibility.

Africa is a vast peninsula, about 5,000 miles in length, and 4,500 in breadth; and its area is computed at 13,430,000 square miles. Its shores are remarkable throughout for their uniformity of outline, for the want of gulfs, bays, harbours and navigable rivers, and for the smallness and fewness of the islands in its vicinity. The gulf of Guinea on the south, and that of Si-

dra in the north, the two principal indentures made by the sea, are both of them dangerous to navigators, and besides are separated by a distance of 1,800 miles. All this, while it renders access difficult, is also indicative of a level country. In general the indication proves to be correct. The rays of a vertical sun are not often scattered by the sloping sides of hill or mountain, or tempered by cool and springy valleys beneath; and the winds, burning with heat, or bearing and scattering vast volumes of sand or rain, drive over the continent almost without obstruction.

In its geological character, Africa is chiefly of secondary and alluvial formation, and thus presents a correspondence in this respect with the general evenness of its surface: there being no reservoirs sufficiently capacious for the ruins of these later formations, unless they had been swept from the continent into the ocean. The comparatively flat body of primitive rock remained clad with the newer coats of our globe, except where at distant intervals its protuberant parts were exposed to the rush of the mighty waters, which before they were confined to their present boundaries, and shut up in the dark caverns of the earth, modelled and polished its surface, and prepared it to be inhabited. It is certainly determined, however, that there is at least one basin in the centre of Africa, from which there is no outlet to the ocean. But even this is so remarkable for its shallowness, that the waters on its shores advance and retire to great distances with the change of seasons, and nothing apparently but the influx of great rivers prevents it from being dried up entirely. It is perhaps not improbable that there are other inland seas of a similar character. The accounts of the natives, though they are in the main exceedingly contradictory, and little to be trusted, agree in representing various and extensive marshes in the interior of Africa.

The isthmus of Suez is marked by several singularities. The breadth of the isthmus in a strait line is seventy miles. Its surface generally declines from the shores of the Red Sea to those of the Mediterranean. The level of the Mediterranean is thirty feet lower than that of the gulf of Suez. Besides this leading inclination of the surface there is a particular one in the middle of the isthmus. The deep basin called the Bitter Lakes,



is more than fifty feet lower than the level of the Red Sea, the waters of which would enter and fill it, if they were not prevented by a little sandy isthmus about three feet higher than the level of the sea. The ancient Egyptians, being ignorant of the principles of hydraulics, it is stated, were not without apprehension, that the Arabian gulf would burst its low and feeble boundaries, and by some unknown, but dreadful power, would overwhelm that part of their country which lies below the level of its surface. But as the descent to the Mediterranean is in the main very gradual, being only about six inches in a mile, it is evident that the action of the water could not be very violent, even if it proceeded in a body; and it seems by no means a visionary opinion, that an ample communication, proceeding by a very gentle current, will yet be made between the two seas, and thus a direct passage will be obtained for ships, from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. All that appears to be wanting to accomplish this grand result, is a Clinton at the head of a free, enlightened and enterprising community.

There is a more general characteristic of Africa, that is well worthy of our attention. It is found, that in some parts where both the soil and the water at the surface are impregnated with salt, fresh water springs up from beneath. A late English traveller remarks, "As far as I can learn, no salt formations exist within the boundaries of the rains." In places where they do exist, "there are many fine fresh springs issuing from the soil, and none of the wells are brackish; when the water, however, remains sometime stagnant, it gets impregnated with saline matter." He suggests, that in producing this salt on the surface, "the air has a powerful effect, and is a principal agent:" as if the air itself might be impregnated with salt, or had the power of manufacturing it! The true explanation of this extraordinary phenomenon, is notwithstanding exceedingly obvious and simple. It is found, as has been remarked, only where rains seldom or never occur. The water then which rises from springs, and which is evaporated from the surface of the ground, must come from a distance, from a rainy country; and its course in the salt districts must be always upward, toward the surface of the earth. Of course, even if there were salt beneath the surface, it would gradually be brought upward to the surface, by

the continual rising of the water; and from the surface evaporation alone could never remove it. We see then in the actual state of things, a constant tendency to the remarkable result in question.

The extensive deserts of Africa present all the indications of having once been the level bed of the ocean. Not only do salt plains, and the reliques of sea animals frequently occur, but trees are often found in a petrified state. It is altogether unphilosophical to suppose for a moment, that such results could be produced, except by miraculous power, or the waters of the sea.—To believe this, however, requires no degree of credulity, since it is a well ascertained geological fact, that the highest secondary mountains present the same indisputable proof, that the waters of our globe formerly enveloped them. Scripture itself adds its testimony; that such was the fact, before “the waters were gathered together.”

The most noted mountain range in Africa, is the Jibbel Kumri, or Mountains of the Moon. It lies on the south of Abyssinia, and stretches off westward through the centre of Africa. Its extent and magnitude are known very imperfectly; though it seems at least altogether probable, from its central position, that it surpasses in both these respects all the other ranges of the continent. The actual view which Major Denham had, of stupendous mountains to the south of Mandara, in the heart of Africa, as well as the coldness of the climate in that region, goes very far to confirm this opinion. From Mandara also a range is represented by the same traveller, as extending very far to the southward. He was told by a “very intelligent” African, who had travelled south of Mandara, that the inhabitants there “were unanimous in declaring these mountains to extend southward for two months’ journey; and in describing them he called them mountains large, large, moon mountains.” To the west of Mandara are the Kong mountains, which range east and west, and are probably a mere continuation of the Abyssinian Mountains of the Moon. Mount Atlas, which lines nearly the whole of the north coast, is a series of five or six small chains, rising one behind another, and including many table lands. It is stated, however, that toward the desert they increase in elevation and terminate in steep and inaccessible peaks. It is cer-

tain that such is the character of others of the African mountains. But in general, agreeably to preceding remarks, they appear to be of calcareous formation, built in terraces; and their rivers, instead of traversing long and deep valleys, descend in a series of cataracts. It is supposed, and the supposition is certainly a very plausible one, that the Atlas of Homer and Virgil, was the Peak of Teneriffe.

Of African rivers, the most of the Nile, the Senegal, the Gambia, and a part of the Niger, are too well known to require a description. It is chiefly the rivers of Central Africa, that are not only known very imperfectly, but in the various accounts respecting them, present such a labyrinth of mysteries, such a series of contradictions, and such a medley of absurdities, that it would seem as if they were possessed of no permanent character, but were changeable like the colours of the cameleon, and unlike the cameleon indicating no cause of the diversity. A good many *facts*, however, respecting them, are already established by competent observers. It is certain that a fresh water sea or lake, six or eight hundred miles in circuit, called Tchad, or otherwise Chad, Shad, Chadee, Shadee, Cauga, Cadee or Caudee, lies about  $13^{\circ}$  north, by  $15^{\circ}$  east. Into this lake the river Yeou or Yow, empties from the west, which near its mouth is 150 yards across, and its probable source and continued eastern direction, have been ascertained entirely. From the south, by several channels, empties the Shary, Shar or Sharee, running two or three miles an hour, measuring only five or six feet in depth, and more than six hundred yards across. Its general course, though not far ascertained, continues to be from the south.—Kano, which is doubtless the Ghana of the Arabs, and the Cano of Leo Africanus, and which is near the centre of Houssa, instead of being situated on a great river running east or west, lies between the sources of the Yeou, running eastward into the Tchad, and the Quorrama, which runs to the westward. Kano is about  $12^{\circ}$  north, by  $2^{\circ}$  east from London.

We now pass from these known premises to the wretched native accounts; and of some of them we shall be able at least to discover the falsity. Though Major Denham did not go quite round the Tchad, it was the unanimous testimony of those who had often done so, that it has no outlet. They agreed, howev-



er, that its waters formerly passed off to the east, and that the dry bed of its stream still remained, though covered with large trees and full of pasture. On this account doubtless it is proper to place no dependence, though the freshness of the lake argues in favour of an outlet. Major Denham himself viewed from the distant southern hills the great basin, of which the lake occupies the centre, and a northern outlet, if any ever existed, appeared to him the most probable. A venerable patriarch shepherd on the east shore of the Tchad, informed him, that from Tchad to Fittre was four days; there was *no water*, and but two wells on the road. "Fittre, he said, was large, but not like the Tchad. His infancy had been passed on its borders. He had often heard the Fittre called the Darfoor water, and Shilluk. A river also came from the south-west which formed lake Fittre; and this and the Nile were one; he *believed* this was also the Shary; but *he knew nothing to the westward.*" Major Denham says, "There is a prevailing report among the Shouaas, that from a mountain, south-east of Waday, called Tama, issues a stream, which flows near Darpoor, (Darfoor,) and forms the river Bahr el Abiad; and that this water is the lake Tchad, which is driven by the eddies and whirlpools of the centre of the lake into subterranean passages; and after a course of many miles under ground, its progress being arrested by rocks of granite, it rises between two hills, and pursues its way eastward." Here we have a very intelligible, and very satisfactory specimen of African fanciful philosophy. But this is not all. Native accounts have agreed, that the river Gambaroo, separated from the Niger near Tombuctoo, and flowed eastward into the lake Tchad; whereas it has been ascertained with certainty, that the Gambaroo is merely a branch or portion of the Yeou, which rises at Kano and flows eastward to the Tchad.— Here then we have ample proof even if we had no other, that the African testimony, with regard to the *identity* of rivers, is not at all to be trusted. By a single freak of the imagination, they can make a single river run all over and under the earth. And they do not hesitate to make them even run up stream, as the Niger was represented by them to run up the Quorrama, and down the Yeou, into the Tchad, by Kano. Major Denham makes evident another source of error. "An intelligent Moor



of Mesurata again told me, this water, (the Yeou,) was the *same* as the Nile; and when I asked him how that could be, when he knew that we had traced it into the Tchad, which was allowed to have no outlet, he replied, 'Yes, but it is nevertheless *Nile water-sweet*.' I had before been asked if the Nile was not in England; and subsequently when my knowledge of Arabic was somewhat improved, I became satisfied that these questions had no reference at all to the Nile of Egypt, but merely meant running water, sweet water, from its rarity highly esteemed by all desert travellers."

We will now proceed with the native testimony, carefully rejecting it, however, when it is plainly rendered worthless; and will pursue a course of analogical reasoning, which has heretofore been too little regarded. They unanimously agree, that a little to the west of Sackatoo, the capital of the vast and powerful kingdom of the Felatahs, which was visited by Captain Clapperton, and which lies about  $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  east, by  $13^{\circ}$  north, flows the river Quolla, Quorra, Kowara, Kulla or Wola, which is three or four miles wide, and is universally allowed to be the Niger. It is certain that the Niger does not pass north of Sackatoo.—The natives also unanimously agree, that the Quolla flows eastward toward the Nile; which latter testimony as has been seen, amounts to nothing, but that there is a great river connected with the Quolla, and having the same name, in that direction, flowing either eastward or westward. They also agree, that a branch flows from the Quolla, southward to the sea. Bello, sultan of the Felatahs, a man obviously possessed of extensive information, and of a quick and powerful intellect, informed Captain Clapperton, in a desultory conversation, that the Quolla "entered the Sea at Fundah. Two or three years before, the sea closed up the mouth of the river, and its mouth was then a day or two farther south. I will give the king of England, said he, a place on the coast, to build a town: only I wish a road to be cut to Rakah, *if vessels should not be able to navigate the river*." He said nothing at the time of an arm flowing eastward from the Quolla. Afterward, when it was known, that he had become jealous of the designs of England on his empire, he drew a map of the river, which represented it as flowing eastward to the Nile, and having no outlet to the sea.—

The mere fact of his jealousy throws distrust on his map, and fixes our confidence on the unbiassed testimony which he had given before. By a mere glance at the gulf of Guinea, compared with similar gulfs, on the map of the world, we are irresistibly led to the probable conclusion, that it is the estuary of one or more great rivers. In confirmation of this analogical conclusion, Mr. Bowdich entered the Gaboon, near the equator, ascended it forty-five miles, and there found two branches, one of which was four, and the other two miles wide. Several other rivers at the gulf were of a similar magnitude. We have seen that the native testimony does nothing to show, whether the great eastern branch of the Quolla flows eastward or westward; though its existence cannot at all be doubted. It is then at least a very probable analogical conclusion, that it rises in the country of Dar Koolah or Kulla, a place plainly of the same name with the river, and flowing westward, enters the great river, the Niger, flowing from the north, or runs directly into the gulf of Guinea. Indeed in the map of Malte Brun, the source of a river running westward, is laid down in Dar Koolah, on the authority of Browne, who visited that region of country. "At a distance of three days' journey to the south of Cabbeh, (in Darfoor,) there are copper mines; and seven days' journey and a half beyond these, is the Bahr el Abiad. To the west of this is the river Koolah, (Kulla or Quolla,) the banks of which, according to the information of Mr. Browne, abound with pimento trees." As a proof of the great height of this country compared with Central Africa, it is stated, that the mountains "are frequently covered with snow." A glance at the rivers of the gulfs of Persia, Bengal and Birmah; will give at least a probable general idea of the rivers of the gulf of Guinea. The native testimony that the rivers of Africa in the interior, separate, in their downward course, into two or more branches, has been shown to be false in some instances, and in all good for nothing. At the utmost, there are not more than two examples of this kind known in the world; and the obvious reason is, that rivers in the interior are constantly lowering their beds, and thus diminishing the chance of a division; and even if a division actually existed, there would be a constant and unavoidable tendency to flow in a single direction; whereas near their mouths,

rivers are continually raising their beds, and thus preparing to burst their boundaries, and to pour their waters in any direction.

Mr. Bowdich concluded from native testimony, that an arm of the Quolla passes into the Zaire or Congo: but this, as has been seen, may amount to nothing more, than that a branch of the Quolla and one of the Zaire, have their sources nearly together, and flow in different directions; and analogy shows almost irresistibly, that such is the fact.\*

Africa is distinguished for the richness and fertility of its soil, as well as for the number and magnitude of sterile spots which are found on its surface. The fame of Egypt's productiveness has already filled the world, and accounts fully agree, that other parts of the continent will even vie with Egypt in point of fertility. Indeed it would seem as if nothing had contributed more to lower the character of the African race, than the comparative ease with which life and even luxury may be supported. The abundant resources of Egypt, under a wise and rigid government, were once brought to operate in elevating the character of its inhabitants. But where such a government is wanting, and where there is no sufficient moral influence, and no pressure of necessity, to operate in its stead, resources, in almost exact proportion to their abundance, are wasted in dissipation, and consumed in comparative idleness. The same profuseness of nature, which under judicious management would improve and elevate its possessors, serves only to degrade them, when no controlling influence is exerted over it.

The climate of Africa has generally had the reputation of being unhealthy. But when the number and extent of its marshes, and the habits of the natives are known, this circumstance will appear to be no cause of wonder. When those marshes shall be cleared and cultivated, and the inhabitants shall become civilized and cleanly, it is perhaps not too much to expect, that the world will not furnish a region more salubrious or healthful than Africa.

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\* Some of the views in this article, it will be seen, differ from those expressed in our last July number. On a subject embarrassed with so much uncertainty, it is to be expected that different writers will not altogether agree; and indeed that the developement of unknown facts, may at any time turn the scale of probability. At all events, the exhibition of different opinions, may aid in arriving at the truth.



## COMMUNICATION.

**Mr. Tazewell's Report.**

IN the Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations to the Senate, April 28, 1828, on African Colonization, Mr. Tazewell seems to have entirely and most unaccountably misapprehended the petitions of the American Colonization Society and of their friends in their behalf. For instance, nothing can be more erroneous than his assertion, that the "applicants wish generally, that the United States should exert their power and their means to acquire a territory somewhere on the Coast of Africa, which when acquired, should be opened as an asylum for the reception of free people of colour and liberated slaves." If any advocates of our cause in any part of the United States have recently made such a request, it is more than we are aware of, and must have been done most inadvertently. But as to the Society themselves, it is very certain that by them no such application has, at least for several years, been urged; for a territory on the African Coast has already been obtained and occupied, and a Colony of twelve hundred souls has been successfully established. So far, then, from being under the necessity of soliciting the aid of Congress for the acquisition of territory, the Society have found by experience that that is the least difficult part of our undertaking; and we are at this moment in possession of more land than we can, with our means alone, people for many years to come.

It is to be regretted that this simple but highly important fact should have escaped Mr. Tazewell's observation; for, if he had been acquainted with it, it would not have been necessary for him to waste so much keen argument and so much of his precious time in the discussion of the territorial question; and the whole subject would have escaped from many pages of metaphysical torture.

If, at the very origin of the scheme of Colonization, when those who were wise and virtuous enough to discern its merits; had not yet the means of forming definitive plans for its accomplishment, but were either awaiting the result of experience, and the gradual and natural progress of the suggestion, or were deliberating among themselves how it might be best promoted; if, at that period, there did exist among the friends of our cause a great diversity of opinions, as each may have happened to spring up spontaneously in remote situations; and if, for some time, the public mind did fluctuate among the various courses that were proposed; all uncertainty has long since disappeared from the councils of our well organized Society, and its more distinguished and influential members have ceased to entertain either indefinite or conflicting views. It is thus that every project is by degrees perfected. Whatever may have been the propositions or wishes of many of ourselves in the infancy of our design, as to the proper site for an establishment, the proper measures for acquiring territory, and



the proper way to found, maintain and govern the Colony, there may be said to be, at present, but one persuasion, on those topics, among the fathers and leaders of the cause. Mr. Jefferson, the enlightened and earliest advocate of colonization, at first suggested that some part of our continent might be selected for a Colony: but that idea was soon abandoned and is now almost forgotten; and Mr. Jefferson became one of the zealous supporters of the settlement in Africa. So, when the idea of colonizing our free coloured population had been only recently conceived, and no place had been chosen for their new abode, it was proposed that the requisite territory should be procured by the United States, as this was a matter of national concern: but the Society, when afterwards formed, determined to purchase the territory themselves, and did purchase it without the assistance or privity of Government. Thus, another of the early and perhaps crude, or at least impracticable, designs of those who had embraced the scheme, was abandoned. The position being fixed upon, a settlement effected, and the Colony prosperous, the question very naturally and indeed unavoidably arose, how this new nation should be governed and protected. No one, we believe, was ever so extravagant as to suppose that it might be or ought to be incorporated into this confederacy. Mr. Tazewell's remarks upon that subject are entirely gratuitous. But some persons did imagine that, although it could not be adopted as a co-equal state, it would be necessary for its defence that it should be held as a territory or Colony, until, having learnt from our institutions to be free and happy, and being old and strong enough for self-preservation, it might be endowed with independence; an imperishable monument to the American name, on the shores of injured Africa. This was no wild nor ordinary thought, and, if carried into execution, would be both honourable and useful to our country. We cannot agree with Mr. Tazewell that the acquisition, permanent occupation and government of such a territory, for purposes so national, nay so necessary, would be repugnant to the constitution, any more than would an establishment in the Rocky Mountains or a garrison at Oregon. No man will, after a moment's reflection, suppose that the countries beyond the sandy prairies in the west and north, and at the mouth of Columbia river, can ever become members of this Union; for they are scarcely less distant than the coast of Africa, and are separated from us by a breadth of continent, which it requires more time and expense to traverse than to cross the ocean. Yet what American statesman of any eminence has denied the right of the United States to claim, possess and occupy those regions? If any have denied it, the objection has been over-ruled by a contrary practice.

The power of acquiring territory is an incident to that of negotiating treaties, regulating commerce and declaring war, and is limited only to those occasions when it may be necessary for "the common defence," or conducive to "the general welfare." Indeed, any measure that should not have those great objects in view, would be contrary to the spirit of our in-

stitutions; and every proposition, no matter how consistent with the letter of the Constitution, is and must be advocated also on those broad grounds. The words "common defence and general welfare" thus become an important ingredient in our national policy, and, although conferring, of themselves, no powers, encompass and sanction all that are conceded directly or incidentally. It is in this sense, as we understand their arguments, that those who have reasoned in favour of African Colonization, have appealed to that phrase: not, as Mr. Tazewell imagines, to deduce from it the power of acquiring and maintaining distant territories; but to justify, by the innumerable advantages to our country of that scheme, the exercise by Congress of powers inferred from other clauses. In order that Congress should wield, for the acquisition and support of colonies or territories, the authority justly implied in the power of declaring war, making treaties or regulating commerce, it is not sufficient that such authority appear to be manifestly and indubitably contained in the grant of those powers; but it is also necessary that the particular act in question be for the "common defence" or "general welfare." For those great primary purposes all authority is granted and the Constitution itself exists. They vindicate and limit all the powers entrusted by the people to their rulers.—They constitute the only limitation to the power of declaring war, and making treaties.\* In a maritime war it might become necessary for the United States to seize upon and hold an island in the Mediterranean; and in doing so they would be obeying the Constitution. It might be necessary to land and possess themselves of a part of the coast of Africa, or of this continent in the southern hemisphere or in the Pacific Ocean; and doing so would be to obey the Constitution. How long these places should be retained would depend upon the circumstances of the case, interpreted by Congress; for the Constitution is silent on that subject. Whether they should be occupied for only a few weeks, or for many years, or permanently, would be for Congress to determine, with a view to the "common defence and general welfare." The same or similar places might become, from peculiar circumstances, necessary to us in time of peace, and might therefore be acquired by the treaty-making power, provided the President and Senate should deem it for the "common defence and general welfare."

We cannot conceive how these plain inferences can be denied. There is no clause, no word of the Constitution, that specifies any particular or exclusive purposes for which territory may be acquired, or that prohibits the acquisition of distant and foreign territory any more than of domestic

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\* That of regulating commerce is restricted by various additional provisions.

"But all duties, imposts and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States."—[SEC. 8, ART. I. CON.]

"No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state."  
[ART. I. SEC. 9.]

or contiguous. For the great purposes for which the power was created, a foreign and distant territory might, in a particular posture of affairs, be essential to our security or peace, and a tract of country adjacent to us be utterly useless. In such a case the distinction would be worse than absurd. The Constitution has wisely left it to the discretion of Congress, and to the course of things. We shall not undertake to explain how and when it may become necessary to exercise that power for the acquisition of foreign and very distant regions, nor where those regions will be situated; for, although we think we understand the nature of our institutions, we do not pretend to prophesy: but to show that this, as we have given it, is the true theory of the Constitution, it is only necessary to recite it.—None of us may foretell how soon we shall be called upon to put it into practice.

The President and Senate having the power of making treaties for the acquisition of territory, whether contiguous or remote, whether on this continent or on another, and whether separated from us by oceans of water or oceans of sand, we may suppose that a juncture might arise in which the "common defence and general welfare" would require them to make a treaty, stipulating the payment of a sum of money for the territory to be acquired. This gentle mode of acquisition would be as much within their constitutional powers, as a more forcible one; and, indeed, more congenial to our peaceful institutions. If a treaty may be made with the Winnebagoes, it may be made with the Foulahs or Mandingoes. There is no restriction, whatsoever, (we repeat it,) but that imposed upon the discretion and honesty of the Executive and Senate, that they enter into such transactions, not for any sinister or private or frivolous purpose, but for the "common defence and general welfare" of their constituents.

The appropriation of monies under the treaty-making power, however, is rather indirect than immediate; and though it would sufficiently answer our present object, of demonstrating that a territory in Africa might have been constitutionally procured and held by the General Government, we will proceed to consider those direct and more common appropriations, which have no treaty-stipulations in view. In Article I. Sec. 8, of the Constitution, we find this comprehensive clause: "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises." This at once places at their discretion all the power of the purse, and, if it were the only clause in the Constitution, would enable them to dispose of the public monies in any manner their caprice might prompt, even for their own individual emolument. But they are strictly limited by clauses that follow. There are certain duties which they *must* fulfil, and there are other acts which they are directly or indirectly forbidden to perform. Among the former, to which they *must* appropriate the funds entrusted to them, are "regulating commerce," "establishing post-offices and post-roads," "promoting the progress of the arts and sciences," &c. "constituting and supporting the judiciary," "providing and maintaining armies and navies and



all the materials of war," "organizing and arming the militia," "giving a compensation to the President and other public officers," &c. &c. &c.—These acts, being enjoined by the Constitution, they *must* perform; to neglect any of them, when requisite and practicable, would be an infraction of that instrument. On the other hand, there are things which they *must not* do. For instance, Congress were not allowed to prohibit the introduction of negroes into the United States before 1808, but might lay a tax of \$10 a head upon such as should be imported. Not only to have prohibited their introduction, before that period, or to have imposed a higher duty on them, but also to have made any appropriation of the public monies, by which, directly or indirectly, their introduction might have been *stopt* or interrupted, would have been unconstitutional; for the public funds, entrusted to Congress by the Constitution, are not to be used in violation or embarrassment of the Constitution.

There is a third class of acts, which Congress are neither expressly nor by implication commanded to do nor prohibited from doing; which seems to be left to their discretion, with the multitude of things which may become necessary but cannot be foreseen nor indicated, and which time alone, in its incessant flight, reveals. Such was the present to General Lafayette. Such are appropriations for internal improvements. Neither of those expenditures can be justified but on the ground, that the public revenue is entrusted to Congress, to be applied to certain enumerated purposes, and to such others, not repugnant to the Constitution nor inconsistent with the rights of states, as they may deem for the "common defence" or "general welfare." Upon the same grounds and with equal reason, may a portion of that revenue be devoted, by those to whose honesty and judgment it is committed, to the purchase of a territory in Africa and the establishment there of a Colony.

It would have been most unwise and unavailing in the founders of our government, to have pretended to enumerate and define all the supposable objects to which our redundant means should in future years be directed. Such an attempt could only have crippled our resources, and led us back into the same embarrassments, confusion and ultimate dissolution, with which we were afflicted or threatened by the old articles of confederation. The framers of that immortal monument of wisdom, our present Constitution, contented themselves with indicating certain primary purposes for which it was intended, and with laying down a few leading principles, sufficient, when properly examined and faithfully obeyed, to give it full developement and impose due limitation; and, fortunately, left the rest to time and Providence. It appears to us that nothing can be more evident, than that, in confiding the national revenue to Congress, the Constitution designs to make them the judges, within certain bounds, to what objects it shall be applied. It can, with propriety, be applied only to those purposes that are consistent with the Constitution, not repugnant to state rights, and conducive to the "general welfare," or "common defence;"



and for a judicious exercise of this discretion, members of Congress are answerable to their constituents. Even the most jealous form of government must repose confidence at last in some one; and if that person be responsible to an enlightened people, as are those of the United States, government has attained its utmost security. The abuse of such a trust can be provided against, only by the original selection of proper representatives, or by the expulsion of those that fail in their duty. Both of these privileges have been reserved to the people by the Constitution; and upon their own good sense and patriotism must the people rely, to guard against violations of that Constitution by its legitimate expounders or those who are its necessary instruments.

If therefore it can be shown, to the satisfaction of the people and their representatives, that the scheme of African Colonization would be eminently conducive to the prosperity, peace, safety, and general welfare of our country; and that no state rights would be interfered with, nor any express or implied provision of the Constitution violated, by an application of some of the public funds to that purpose, Congress will be entirely at liberty to appropriate any sum which they may deem reasonable or sufficient.

It was not necessary for us to discuss the questions of territorial acquisition and colonial establishments by the United States; for, notwithstanding Mr. Tazewell's long argument, they have no relation to the views of our Society. That this is true with reference to the acquisition of territory has been already shown, by the fact of a suitable and sufficiently extensive territory having been long ago procured at the expense of the Society.—Nor, with regard to the colonial government, is it by any means necessary that it should be assumed and its continuance guaranteed by the United States. On the contrary, the prevailing sentiment among the leading friends of the undertaking, is, we are inclined to think, that the Colony remain under the direction of the Society and of its own laws, until it arrive at the proper crisis for entire independence; and that it have no connection with the friendship or enmities, war or peace, treaties or alliances, of this country. It will thus more certainly escape the vicissitudes to which such a connection would expose it. A place of free resort for the vessels of all nations, and an institution of a purely benevolent character, it may reasonably hope to be exempt, for many a year, from the troubles of general politics and the disasters of European or American wars. The only conflict which it may expect, will be with the piratical slave-vessels on the coast, and now and then with some petty tribe of the interior; against both of whom it is able already to protect itself. Thus it will be, in a political point of view, totally distinct from us; but in language, in customs, in institutions, in religion, it will be similar; and, though independent, bound to us by all the ties of interest and gratitude.

Such is the consummation at which we devoutly aim. The only assistance which we desire from the United States is *pecuniary*; with such ad-

ditional good offices as their cruizers may properly afford, in their endeavours to suppress the slave-trade. All that we ask is an appropriation of money; and we confidently claim it for a purpose in every way conducive to the "common defence and general welfare."

In making such an application, it may be justly demanded of us to explain the particular objects for which the money will be used, and give some estimate of the amount that will be required. To that duty we now proceed. And we will, at the outset, remark, with due respect for his high character and deference to his talents, that in no part of his subject has Mr. Tazewell more egregiously shot beyond his mark, than this. We humbly venture to think, that on a question of such influence and importance, recommended to the attention of the Legislature by many of our most distinguished citizens, it would have been more candid and statesman-like, to have contemplated its bearings and pretensions, if not in a favourable light, at least in that in which alone they are rational, than to have taken sides, like a pleader in the forum, not a Senator in the Capitol, and laboured to ruin the project, by pushing it to extremes with which it has no affinity. If it have defects, let them be fearlessly exposed: but if it have merits also, let them too be acknowledged. We will presume to oppose our calculations to Mr. Tazewell's.

The objects to which any monies derived from government would be appropriated, are the extension and improvement of the Colony of Liberia, and the transportation thither of such free coloured persons as might be willing to go, and of such slaves as their masters might liberate for that purpose. The attention of the Society has been chiefly directed to the *free people of colour*, because they furnish more numerous applicants for removal, and afford the best subjects for a wholesome establishment; being generally better educated and more enlightened than the slaves. At every expedition to the coast, more of that class of persons have been eager to embark, than the Society had the means of gratifying, although in nearly every instance a most rigid and judicious selection has been made.

From *free* coloured people, in various parts of the union, but principally south of the Susquehanna and Potomac, there are, at this moment, 500 applications for a passage to the Colony. Last year upwards of *four hundred* were conveyed thither, generally excellent subjects. Its population is now more than *twelve hundred*.

In the present state of the Society's funds, exhausted by previous efforts, and not yet sufficiently restored, it will be impossible for us, we fear, to afford the means of emigration to more than half the actual applicants. The number of applications has gone on increasing from year to year; and we feel justified in the belief, that it will continue to augment most rapidly, if it be encouraged. It has been ascertained that in one year about *six thousand* free coloured persons emigrated to Hayti, a large part of them at their own expense. This reveals an inclination in that class of people to emigrate. In another year the number would have been greater: but un-

fortunately, they found that their condition was not improved by settling among an ignorant and semi-barbarous people, speaking a different language, of a different religion, intolerant, and having very limited notions indeed of the "rights of man;" and as many of them as could escape, returned. There are political reasons of great weight, why we should not desire to see the power of a nation of blacks in our neighbourhood increased, nor much intercourse established between us. It was not from any partiality for Hayti in particular, that the free blacks emigrated; but from a disposition to leave this country, provided they could go to some other where they might enjoy all the privileges and advantages of freemen.—Such is Liberia.

We will now proceed to show, that the object which the Society propose to accomplish, can be readily attained without burthening the resources of the Union. The probable number of free coloured persons in the United States, is 280,000; and their annual increase, about 7,000. The cost of transporting such persons to Liberia has been ascertained to be about \$28 for every adult, and \$14 for children under twelve. We will put it, respectively, at \$30 and \$15, that we may not underrate it. Mr. Tazewell estimates it at \$100, for persons of every age: but he has not told us where he obtained his information. According to our calculation, which we assert to be correct, (and for which we refer to the statement of expenditures in the Navy Department, recently laid before Congress,) to transport 280,000 persons, at \$30 each, would cost \$7,400,000; and to transport the annual increase, 7,000 persons, at the same rate, would cost \$210,000. But who, except Mr. Tazewell, has been ingenious enough to suggest the transportation, at once, of the whole mass of the free coloured population of this country? Such a design would be even much less expensive, than it would be absurd and impracticable. No such scheme was ever proposed, and therefore it need not have been combated. Although the idea has been, not only plausibly but reasonably, entertained of transporting in every year the whole annual increase, yet it is very certain that, even under favourable circumstances, the Colony will not be capable, for several years, of receiving and providing for even such an addition to its population. Gentlemen spoke of what might or ought (and no doubt will) be, at some future day; not of what should or could be done immediately. Thus there is no danger, for the present, that even the \$210,000 annually will be called for; much less the \$7,000,000. And yet where is the man of sense or liberality, that would refuse those \$7,000,000, if they could in one year remove that dreadful nuisance, our free coloured population?

The progress of emigration must, as we have said before, be gradual.—It is in its nature to be slow, and it cannot be driven beyond a certain voluntary and accelerating motion. No doubt, it will acquire an increased momentum at every revolution. For this slowness there are various reasons. One of them is, that by being surcharged with crude emigrants, the Colony would be destroyed: another, that the free coloured people, being un-



der no compulsion, could not be persuaded, all of them, to set out at once and without delay. These are the retarding causes. The accelerating causes will be, that as the Colony shall each year expand, it will become, like all newly peopled countries, in a geometrical ratio, more and more capable of receiving greater numbers; and that when many shall have emigrated hence, more will be prepared and willing to follow them. If, therefore, the emigration must unavoidably be gradual, the appropriation may also be gradual.

Thus, several years must elapse before the Society can desire to transport even the annual increase of our free coloured population. Perhaps the Colony may not, the first year, receive more than 1,000 emigrants; the second year, not more than 2,000; the third, not more than 3,000; and so on, until the whole number be embraced. If this anticipation be correct, (and we believe it to be so,) not more than \$30,000 would be required, the first year, for the mere transportation of free coloured persons to Africa; not more than 60,000, the second year; and not more than 90,000, the third. Indeed, it is probable that not even the number of persons we have named would emigrate in those three or four years. But, nevertheless, the appropriation ought not to be diminished; for a large portion of it should be annually applied to the local improvement of the Colony, and to the adaptation of it to those purposes for which it is intended.

Although the sum necessary to transport 7,000 persons be \$210,000, yet we believe that to effect that object, no greater appropriation will ever be required, in any one year, than \$100,000. For, we must recollect that of those 7,000, one fourth at least are children, who can be conveyed at half price; and that there are also many persons, incapable from age or ill health, of adding to our species, and many others, totally unfit, from character or bodily infirmities, to become members of a young and vigorous establishment, who would be either excluded, if bad, or, if unfortunate, admitted only at their own expense. From Dr. Halley's tables of births and mortality at the various stages of life, it may be ascertained that, if the annual increase of the free coloured population be 7,000, the number of persons in those 7,000 between the ages of 20 and 30, will be about 1100 or 1200. These would be the persons most desirable to remove, as they constitute the principal source of multiplication. To remove them at \$30 each, would cost about \$36,000. It would be impossible, however, in practice, to confine gratuitous emigration to them alone, for many reasons; and therefore this sum is too small: but to some extent it might be effected; and we mention it merely as one of the ingredients of a system of great economy.

We must also make large allowances for the operation of moral causes, so much more powerful than the physical, upon those who are to be removed. There is implanted in the human breast, whether black or white, an active desire of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;" and, if the free coloured people conceive that their condition will be improved by



emigration, it is unnatural to suppose that they will not emigrate. The Society will assume the task of enlightening them on that subject. We see that many have emigrated, and that many others would follow, if it were in their power; persons, too, distinguished above most of their class for information and acuteness. The conviction that it is for their own greater good and for the happiness of their posterity, is rapidly stealing over the whole free coloured population. Let any of them be once animated by an irresistible inclination to emigrate, founded on the experience of those who have gone before, and on the assurance that they are to be immensely benefited, and they will soon create resources for their own transportation. Many of them already possess the means of defraying their expenses; others would know how to derive them from private benevolence; and others would, no doubt, receive assistance from individual states.

To produce the entire benefit which we anticipate to this country and to themselves, it will be necessary to remove not only the wholesome part of the annual increase, but also, at the same time, a portion of the general mass itself. This would be effected by the aid of Congress and by the causes to which we have alluded; and would only require that a somewhat greater number should be transported, than might be absolutely necessary to keep down the permanent annual increase. In the first year, not more, as we have already said, than 1,000 may be removed; and in the second year, not more than 2,000; but in the third, there may be 5,000; in the fourth, 10,000; in the fifth, 20,000. If the experiment succeed, such will be the result, or such at least, the tendency. We must not and shall not be discouraged at the slow developement of the plan. Precipitation would produce the most ruinous effects: and we are convinced that one of the most admirable features of our scheme, in relation to its practicability as well as its expediency, consists in its dependance upon a gradual, voluntary, natural, and almost imperceptible fulfilment. When we contemplate the stream of emigrants that has poured, and is still pouring, into our country, from the nations of Europe, bearing upon its surface men of every condition, but chiefly of the poorest and, as one should imagine, least able to remove, we cannot but be deeply impressed with the belief, that, when the channel shall be properly opened to Liberia, and the motives to which we have referred shall have begun to have their natural and unavoidable consequence, the torrent of emigration will be more powerful than that from Europe; in proportion as the pressure of circumstances is heavier here, and the inducements and facilities of departure greater.

The calculations of expense made with reference to the free blacks, are equally applicable to slaves. We shall proceed to apply them. We do so the more particularly, as Mr. Tazewell's calculation seems to have been meant for a caricature of our project. If not designed to ridicule us, it is certainly a much less skilful and correct delineation of our views, than we had a right to expect from so able a hand. As we have been so greatly

misunderstood even by a gentleman of his sagacity, it will be the more incumbent on us to be explicit.

With *slaves* the Society have no concern, but to transport to Africa, as far as our funds will permit, such as their owners may liberate for that purpose. We know of them only through the intervention of their masters.— In the last and former years, about one hundred slaves were manumitted, and were conveyed by us to Liberia. At this moment the masters of more than *two hundred* have notified the Society, that they are ready to liberate them as soon as they can be sent to Africa. Of these two hundred slaves, *twenty-five* are offered from Maryland; *sixty* from Kentucky; *eighteen or twenty* from Virginia; and *forty-three* from Georgia. Of those that emigrated last year, *thirty* were manumitted in Maryland, and *twenty-five* in South Carolina.

These details are important, as they prove the truth of what the Society have asserted, that many masters, opposed to unconditional emancipation, will be happy of this opportunity of giving their slaves freedom on condition of removal. Throughout the slave-holding States there is a strong objection, even among the warmest friends of the African race, to slaves being liberated and allowed to remain among us; and some States have enacted laws against it. The objection is, in our individual opinion, well founded. But whether sound or futile, it operates powerfully to repress the benevolent designs of masters, and to hold the slave in a situation from which he would otherwise be delivered. The authorized organs of the Society have often proclaimed their belief, that a very large number of owners would instantly manumit their slaves or would provide for their manumission at some future day, if there were an asylum, remote from this country and exempt from the demoralizing effects of only partial freedom, to which they might be sent. If we may judge from such facts as have occurred, (and we can perceive no other more legitimate foundation for an opinion,) that anticipation is beginning to be realized. This is the only mode, under any general plan, by which the ultimate expulsion of negro slavery may be promoted; and it is also, the only mode which the Society have adopted. Nothing can or ought to be done without the consent of the individual master. Each State is competent, no doubt, to provide for the gradual emancipation and removal, or the emancipation only, of the slaves within its boundaries: but that question the Society leave, without discussion, to those whom it concerns. We do not, therefore, "intrude within the confines of any of the States, for the purpose of withdrawing from thence any portion of its inhabitants;"\* nor do we solicit the United States to do so. It is our opinion, 'tis true, that the existence among us of a free coloured population is a great evil, both to us and to that population itself; and that negro slavery is an evil of no less virulence and of a much more dangerous extent. This was also the sentiment of Mr. Jefferson. It is the sentiment, we venture to affirm, of a large majority of

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\*See Mr. Tazewell's Report, page 9.

slave-holders, especially in Virginia and Maryland. If then these be evils of an alarming character, we deem it our duty, or at least our privilege, as citizens, to do all in our power for their cure or mitigation. In the means by which we propose to accomplish that end, there is suggested no compulsion, either of the free or of the bond, either of the master or of the slave. The entire process is to be voluntary, and so gradual as to be almost imperceptible. All our exertions rest upon these incontrovertible grounds; that individuals have a right to dispose of their slaves as they think proper; and that we have a right with the permission of those individuals, to transport such slaves to Africa. Our own resources are not sufficient for the purpose, to the full extent to which the object can be effected; and we have, therefore, being engaged, as we believe, in an undertaking of great private philanthropy and public and national advantage, solicited the pecuniary aid of the nation.

Such only being our views and actions, we are the more surprised at the violent opposition to our Society, that has manifested itself in some places: an opposition which tends immediately to abridge the liberty of speech and to restrict the master's rightful dominion over the slave. Have we addressed ourselves to the slaves? Never. We speak to the master only.—But even him we have not endeavoured to prevail upon, by reason or persuasion, to part with his slave. Being, chiefly, slave-holders ourselves, we well know how it becomes us to approach such a subject as this in a slave-holding state, and in every other. If there were room for a reasonable jealousy, we among the first should feel it; being as much interested in the welfare of the community, and having as much at heart, as any men can have, the security of ourselves, our property and our families. One or two Legislatures, with indignation and terror, "felt or feigned," have interfered, to create perhaps the very danger which they apprehend; and have done us the honour of denouncing us most violently, in their general anathemas. Do they fear lest the citizen be persuaded or convinced of the propriety of transporting his slaves, or approving of our project? Surely, the citizen has a right to be persuaded or convinced: and if he ever should be so, the Legislature themselves will become our warmest advocates. Our object is, not to prevail upon the master to part with his slave, for that we leave to his own reflection and convenience; but to afford to those masters who have determined, or may determine, to manumit their slaves; provided they can be removed from this country, the means of removing them to a place where they may be really free, virtuous, respectable and happy.—Nothing can be more innocent and less alarming. We advise those hasty Solons to confide in the good sense of their constituents; among whom are many members of our Society. Did we suppose that such denunciations could have any effect upon the national councils, we should proudly oppose to them the recommendations, in our favour, of *nine* members of the Union.

If these remarks be correct, (and their correctness cannot be disputed,)



no other answer need be given to Mr. Tazewell's fears: \*—That the United States should, under the pretext of colonization, assume over the coloured population of the Union, a power reserved to the respective states alone; intrude within the boundaries of those states, to withdraw from thence the coloured population, whether slave or free: and finally arrogate to themselves the right of determining, not only who are free and bond, but even who are coloured, to the manifest danger, we might add, to the whites themselves, of being ultimately involved in compulsory emigration: these, we candidly confess, are usurpations too monstrous to find a place in our narrow imagination.

As we intended, therefore, to appropriate a part of any monies which we may receive from the United States, to the transportation, not only of such free people of colour as are willing to emigrate, but also of such slaves as their masters may liberate for that purpose, it will be proper for us to give some estimate of the sum that will probably be required. Mr. Tazewell sets it down (page 13) at \$195,000,000 for the transportation of the whole slave population, and \$5,700,000 for that of their annual increase; without counting some \$500,000,000 more that will be required for their purchase: and he gives the Senate to understand (at the top of page 14,) that these sums are to be collected and paid immediately, and the entire coloured population to be removed at once without further delay. Such a demand on the part of the Society; although urged by Chief Justice Marshall and many other wise and learned men, would be little less than insane, under actual circumstances; and might well astonish and intimidate even a more prodigal and richer government than our own. But fortunately it is entirely a false alarm of Mr. Tazewell's, who has again misunderstood us.

None of us have ever imagined that the whole slave population of the Union, any more than the free coloured, might be or ought to be suddenly removed; nor even that the annual increase of either could, for several, perhaps many, years to come, be drained from our soil. There are various obstacles to such an achievement, almost as great as the want of money, and which amount to physical impossibilities. They consist in the unprepared condition of the Colony, and the danger of crowding such inhabitants into it too rapidly. The operation must be gradual, and at first very slow: afterwards it will regulate itself. Perhaps not more than five hundred slaves will be offered in this or in the ensuing year; and, if more were offered, the Society might perhaps not choose to convey them to the Colony: what then should we want with \$195,000,000?

The same considerations might prevail in the selection of *slave* emigrants, as of *free* emigrants. Of the 45,000, the annual increase of the slaves, only about 8,000 are between the ages of 20 and 30; and although the benefits of emigration could not be confined to that class, yet they might be extended more to them than to the rest. This would essentially diminish the

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\* See page 11 of the Report.



mass itself, and remove in a great measure, or at least retard and weaken, the means of further increase. Also, a larger proportion of young females than of young men, might be selected. Various other expedients might be devised for diminishing the number necessary to be transported, and thereby diminishing the expense. The old and infirm might as well die in this country as in Africa; and the very young might as well remain here to take their chance, until a certain age, of living or dying. We mention these suggestions, not as the plan of the Society, but as thoughts occurring to ourselves. In offering a master the means of removing his slaves to Africa, the Society would undoubtedly have a right to refuse to remove, at their expense, such as he might be supposed to liberate, in order to rid himself of the burthen of maintaining them; and also in purchasing slaves, for the purpose of giving them their freedom in Liberia, the Society would have an undeniable right to purchase only such as they should prefer.—This will illustrate our meaning.

Mr. Tazewell calculates the expense of transportation at \$100 for each person; we have shown that it is only \$30, at the utmost. This reduces his \$5,700,000 for the conveyance of the 57,000 to 1,710,000. Then we must make allowance for the humanity of individuals, themselves, providing for the transportation of their slaves; for the omission of such as are unsuitable; and for the continually augmenting ability of the Society, derived from state and private charity, to furnish the means of emigration to a great number. There yet remains, besides, a most important consideration. It is, that when intercourse with the colony shall become more frequent, it will be proportionably cheaper. The first emigrants cost \$100; those of the present day, \$28; in a few years the price would be reduced to \$10. We see at how slight an expense people find their way from Europe to this country.

Of the *purchase* of slaves it will be time to speak when there shall be no masters willing to manumit them gratuitously.

But suppose that we do require \$1,710,000 annually for the transportation of the increase of slaves: what are \$1,710,000 a year to such a nation as this, when public security and the happiness of our descendants are to be purchased by them? There is no probability that that sum, nor that half of it, will be required, for many years yet, if at all: but even if it should be required, every year, for an hundred successive years, the object to be effected by it would amply justify the expenditure.

The slave population increases, in most of the States, much faster than the white. In Georgia, between 1810 and 1820, the increase of the latter was less than thirty per cent; that of the former, more than forty-two. In the same period, in South Carolina, the blacks increased above twenty-eight per cent. the whites only nine; and in North Carolina, the blacks twenty-six, and the whites twelve. The whole number of slaves in the United States is now about 1,852,126, and their annual increase about 45,174.\* In the

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\* Mr. Tazewell estimates them erroneously at 1,900,000, and 57,000.

year 1840, they will be respectively 2,430,149 and 59,272; in 1867, 4,860,298; in 1894, 9,720,596; in 1921, 19,441,192; thus rolling on, doubling every twenty-seven years, until it vastly exceed the entire present population, black and white, of our country. If the world continue to exist, and the human race to be multiplied on the same principles as now, no one can foresee to what a fearful height this inundation may not rise, what frightful ravages it may not commit, and what permanent changes it may not leave, like convulsions in the natural world, upon the face of American society,—Every man who has the welfare of his race at heart, must confess that this prospect is appalling, and that it will be wise to do something to avert the danger. If his efforts should have no other object or result but to keep down the increase, or abate its alarming speed, he will be entitled to the gratitude and admiration of all posterity. Compared with such a design, \$1,700,000 are as a cent. If the United States do not provide the means, it will be the interest and policy of each State to do so for herself, and to make such regulations (which States alone can make) as will deliver her citizens, and their children's children from the awful consequences. We entertain no doubt that many States will resort to such measures. All that *we* can do, is to remove such slaves as may be gratuitously manumitted by their masters, or bought by us, for that purpose; and it is to effect those objects, that we call upon our government to aid us.

If, by any appropriation of money whatsoever, the annual increase of slaves can be arrested or at least retarded, it will be wise to make that appropriation, be it ever so great. It should be applied to the purchase and transportation of such as might be voluntarily sold by their masters; and to the transportation of such as might become free under the laws of any State. In this there could, surely, be no infringement of state rights. By thus repressing the too rapid increase of blacks, the white population would be enabled to reach and soon overtop them. The consequence would be security; and if any state should then desire it, she might the more readily accomplish the entire extirpation of the evil. If she should not choose to do so, she might refuse: it is idle to suggest or apprehend compulsion. But if the blacks be suffered to accumulate as they have done and are doing, the time must arrive when the slave-holding States will present the appearance of a handful of whites in the midst of a multitude of slaves, who will have become indomitable from their numbers, and from the same cause worthless.

Mr. Tazewell has estimated the sum which we shall require, at \$195,000-000. He cannot seriously pretend to think that we shall want the whole sum in any one year. Then it will be distributed among many years. Apportioned among an hundred years, it will be about \$2,000,000 every year: among one hundred and ninety-five, \$1,000,000. We have never supposed that the Society's plan could be accomplished in a few years; but, on the contrary, have boasted that it will demand a century for its fulfilment. What is a century, what are three centuries, in the existence of a nation? They are like years in the life of man. We are not labouring

and living for ourselves alone: our ancestors lived and laboured for us, and we must live and labour for our posterity. When our fathers plunged into the war of the Revolution, where would have been their triumphs, where our freedom, strength and happiness, if they had stopt to calculate the cost? What they expended, for us as well as for themselves, we have done our part in paying: and when we undertake this great system of amelioration or defence, let our posterity, who will derive the chief benefits, assume a due proportion of the burthen. If it had been adopted at the Independence, it would now be in the fruit-bearing season and drawing to maturity. If it had been commenced a century and an half ago, it would now be complete; perhaps mere matter of history. But if it never be begun, it can never be concluded. Let us therefore lead the way, and earn the applause of centuries to come. Our resources are in the vigour of manhood. Our treasury is full. In a few years the national debt will have been paid off, and ten millions of dollars disengaged to be appropriated to other purposes. Can we not spare a small portion of that sum for such an experiment as this!

Besides the benefits to be derived from this scheme to ourselves at home, it has numerous incidental and accompanying advantages, upon which we have not now room to dwell. Experience has demonstrated that the slave-trade, which all concur in wishing to suppress, cannot be destroyed without making establishments on land, along the coast. From such establishments, the slavers would be overawed, and their marts commanded, and the deluded natives be taught a better traffic, or compelled to refrain from the worse. By such establishments they might be gradually reclaimed from all barbarity, and the blessings of Christian civilization be substituted for their senseless idolatry. As these establishments should grow into nations, they would afford an immense and ever extending market for the products of our soil and industry, and furnish incessant occupation for our commerce; more than compensating us, perhaps, for all expenditures.

The experiment is not difficult, nor will it be onerously expensive. All that remains to be tested is, whether the free blacks will emigrate in sufficient numbers, and whether many masters will liberate their slaves for the purpose of sending them to Africa. A home is already provided for them there, where they will be as free as we are here, and where they will be among people of their own religion, language, customs, and colour. Twenty years will suffice for the experiment. If it succeed, how much is gained! If it fail, nothing is lost but a pittance from our coffers.

The expense can be ascertained by a very simple computation. Let Government grant the Society, each year, a sum sufficient for the transportation of as many applicants as may offer during the year. This year, for instance, as there are six hundred, the appropriation, at \$30 for each person, would amount to \$15,000: to which add \$10,000 or \$15,000 for incidental expenses, and the progressive improvement of the place intended for their reception. It must be remarked that, as the Colony shall expand and become more populous, this additional appropriation, small as it now is, will



diminish, and the necessity for it gradually disappear. Of the disbursement of the whole sum the society might be required to render a strict annual account. Next year, if there should be 1000 applicants, \$30,000, with a proper addition, for purposes alluded to above, might be appropriated. So the appropriations might continue to be made, from year to year, as long as Government should deem them for the general good. Augmenting and contracting with the object to which they were applied, they would themselves constitute the most unerring measure by which to judge of their utility.— Thus, if they should increase, it would indicate that they were producing an equivalent advantage: and, if emigration should proceed more slowly, so much of the public monies would be saved. Therefore, the appropriation can never outstrip or surpass its benefits. Indeed, it would not increase in the same rapid proportion; for, should the scheme grow popular, and the tide of emigration swell, the expense, as we have shown, would diminish; and thus, although double the effect that now favours our project, might be produced ten years hence, it would be produced by an equal, perhaps a smaller amount of money. The apprehensions, then, that, as the plan goes on, larger and larger sums must be drawn from the treasury, until at length they leave it empty, appear to be groundless; and Mr. Tazewell's millions shrink into a few thousands. There is not a more intimate association between the temperature of the atmosphere and the fluctuations of the thermometer, than between these principles and our cause.

If, for a paltry saving, the rulers of our country allow this design to die or languish without a trial, they will deserve to be quoted, in all aftertimes, as the most short-sighted men to whom the destinies of a nation ever had the misfortune to be entrusted.

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We publish in our present number another very interesting and able article, on the subject of Mr. Tazewell's Report. For this we have reasons to render, in addition to the extent and importance of the subject, which not only warrant, but demand its insertion. We wish the public generally to understand, that we are not so alarmed at Mr. Tazewell's statements and estimates, as to let them pass in silence, lest peradventure they should be found to be correct. We have no such fear. It is true, that for the time, the hope of obtaining a grant from Congress was defeated, yet we see, and we rejoice to see, that in the main scope of his arguments, aiming, as they do, at the general ruin of our cause, he is blowing against the wind. In the busy Senate chamber, the more immediate sphere of his influence, where there was time to *commit* the subject, but not to *consider* it, he might be able to check or change the current, at least for the time; but abroad



it still moves onward, the disturbance from this source amounting scarcely to a ripple; and so, we trust, it will move onward forever. We speak not merely of the known and certain merits of our undertaking; of its entire and easy practicability, in itself considered; of its unlimited fund of beneficence; of the sound principles of wisdom by which it is supported; but we say that our country, even though Mr. Tazewell does not stand quite alone, our country is prepared to receive and to accomplish it. In proof of this we can say, that in the other and more numerous branch of our National Legislature, a report was made and accepted, which was directly the reverse of Mr. Tazewell's.— In Congress, then, there is an equipoise relative to the interests of our cause, and weights are constantly accumulating to turn the scales in our favour. But the constituents of Congress, it may be said without the least shadow of doubt or of arrogance, even a vast majority of the great and good of our country are for us; and are so fixed in their sentiments, that nothing but the most inexcusable supineness, or criminal apathy, can prevent our cause from becoming triumphant. In the meanwhile there is nothing that can justly excite enmity; and we are not without the hope, that even the captious and the selfish, merely from motives of personal interest, will ere long become our well wishers, though we can expect little benefit from their activity.

But not only do we wish to manifest our entire fearlessness, and even our desire, of thorough, minute, and candid inquiry, but we are anxious to do what we can in promoting such an inquiry, especially with regard to those topics, around which an attempt has been made to throw distrust, by an authorized committee of Congress. We have not the least apprehension, that this attempt will alienate the minds of any of our friends who have taken clear and candid views of the subject. Our only fear is, that it may hinder inquiry, where it has not yet been made; and that the unfounded opinions of an individual may be adopted without examination as the true description of reality. We desire then, we entreat, that all would duly examine the subject for themselves; and inasmuch as we have by far the greatest weight of talent and influence in our favour, that they would not rest their faith on this hostile and exparte authority.

### **Ann. Meeting of the Colonization Society.**

The Twelfth Annual Meeting of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour in the United States, was held at the City Hall, in Washington, on Saturday the 17th of January. Though the evening was rainy and unpleasant, the meeting was quite respectable, and was honoured with the presence of many of the most distinguished men of our country; among whom were Chief Justice Marshall, the Secretary of State, and many eminent Members from both Houses of Congress.

At seven o'clock Judge Washington took the Chair, and the Secretary, Mr. Gurley, read the names of the Delegates from various Auxiliary Societies. He then read the Report: and though from the numerous interesting events of the past year it was necessarily rather longer than usual, it was heard with profound attention, and deep interest, which were more manifest toward the close than near the commencement. The Report developed very clearly the state, progress and prospects of the Colony and Society. It appears, that though the hand of Providence has inflicted great bereavements, yet no year has transpired that has been on the whole so auspicious to the interests and prospects of our cause. The Colony has been greatly blessed, and in its very aspect it stands a conspicuous and unanswerable argument to prove the wisdom as well as the benevolence of the scheme on which it has been sustained and established. When its opposers require an absolute demonstration of its beneficial tendency, expediency and practicability, we point in silence to Africa.

In this country too, events have been no less animating and auspicious. The sound of opposition has been sinking to a whisper: the spontaneous and persuasive tones of the female voice, are beginning to be heard in our behalf: an increased interest, and a decisive conviction, in favour of Colonization, has gone forth throughout the Union: the hand of beneficence is obviously opening to supply the means which have heretofore been so scanty, although productive of almost miraculous results: and Virginia and Kentucky have risen in their might, and have at

once taken their stand among the very foremost of our advocates and supporters. These states possessing as great an influence as any in the country, and having a common interest with all the people of the south, the most glorious results may be expected from the bright example which they have so freely and so nobly exhibited. At least the shadows of mere suspicion must rapidly flee before it.

The meeting was closed by a series of suitable resolutions, and by interesting and able addresses from some of those who moved them, and from other gentlemen who attended the meeting. There was obviously a very great unanimity of sentiment and feeling, and the proceedings of the evening were not disturbed by a single dissenting voice.

Reserving a further account of the meeting for a future number, we close with the animating remark, that the cause of colonization is triumphant over every thing but neglect and apathy.

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### **Gen. Lafayette.**

In a letter now before us, dated "Lagrange, November 29th, 1828," this venerable and beloved man observes, "I am delighted to hear that the accounts from our so very interesting Liberia, are so satisfactory. The honour I have received in being elected an Officer of the Society, no one could more highly value. Be pleased to present my respects and sympathies to our fellow members when you meet them. I have received the greater part of the Journals, but would like to have a complete collection from the origin of the Institution, to the end of the year."

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### **Expedition to Liberia.**

We mentioned in our last number, that the ship *Harriet*, lying at Norfolk, was chartered by the Society to convey emigrants to the Colony. About two hundred are expected to embark in her, and she will probably sail next week.



## Colonization Society and the Ladies.

We rejoice that our fair countrywomen, who have ever evinced the most laudable spirit whenever appealed to in behalf of humane, benevolent, or pious institutions, begin to express a deep and active interest in the great and promising enterprise of the American Colonization Society. We have long believed that it was only necessary to bring this scheme, attractive and imposing as it is, distinctly before them, to excite their best feelings, and secure their noblest exertions to advance it—to kindle within their bosoms a holy and resolute enthusiasm not to be extinguished—not to die away, which should soften down opposition, and outlive censure, prove admirable in its influences, and illustrious in its deeds. They have not waited for our explanations, our arguments, and our appeal, but have already commenced (unostentatiously, to besure, but efficiently we know,) their kind and generous operations. Urged by the spontaneous sentiments of their hearts, they have established several Auxiliary Associations, which have contributed with no ordinary liberality to the funds of the Parent Institution. Other Female Societies are to be organized, and various expedients (which the charity of Christians is ever so prompt to suggest) are to be devised to augment the funds which are so imperiously required for our object. We bid them God speed in all their gentle and blessed charities, but especially would we cheer them onward in *this* heavenly work. Ours is not the gift of prophecy; yet, we venture to predict, that the voice of future ages will speak their praise, and the people of two Continents render to them the homage of thankful hearts. Regarding the approbation and efforts of the ladies for the Colonization Society as meriting all possible encouragement, the Board of Managers of the Parent Institution, on the 12th instant, unanimously adopted the following resolution,

*“Resolved, That this Board view with special interest the disposition evinced by the Ladies, in several cities to promote the interests of this Society, and that they earnestly recommend to their female friends, throughout the Union, to establish Auxiliary Societies, and to aid in the collection of funds by such other methods as their wisdom and charity may suggest.”*



## State Society of Kentucky.

FRANKFORT, *Tuesday Evening, Dec. 20th, 1828.*—A number of gentlemen met at the Senate chamber, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety and expediency of forming a State Society, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society at Washington City.

Mr. TUNSTALL QUARLES, was appointed Chairman, and Mr. JAMES STONESTREET, Secretary.

Mr. JOHN POPE, the Rev. BENJAMIN O. PEERS, agent of the American Colonization Society, and Doctor LOUIS MARSHALL addressed the meeting, showing the origin, objects and prospects of the Society, and the propriety of forming an auxiliary Society.

Mr. POPE moved the following resolution: which was adopted.

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this meeting, the objects of the American Colonization Society are such, as must be approved by humanity and enlightened patriotism, that its scheme is one calculated to relieve the citizens of this Commonwealth, from the serious inconveniences resulting from the existence among them, of a rapidly increasing number of free persons of colour, who are not subject to the restraints of slavery; and that for these reasons it is desirable that an auxiliary State Society be formed in Kentucky, to co-operate with the Parent Society at Washington; and that a committee of five be now appointed to draft a constitution, which shall be submitted to a general meeting to be held at the Methodist meeting house, in this town, on Friday the ninth day of January next, at 3 o'clock, P. M.

MESSRS. JOHN POPE, DANIEL MAYES, ADAM BEATTY, JAMES W. DENNY and SAMUEL DAVIESS, were appointed a committee pursuant to said resolution.

On motion of Mr. BEATTY,

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of this meeting be requested to cause to be published in the several newspapers, printed in the town of Frankfort, a copy of the proceedings of this meeting.

T. QUARLES, *Chairman.*

Att. J. STONESTREET, *Secretary.*

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## Errata.

In the list of contributions, page 320, instead of "Jacob Wagener, Esq. of Easton, Maryland," read *Jacob Waggoner, Esq. of Easton, Pennsylvania.*

## Contributions

*To the A. C. Society, from 29th Dec. 1828, to Jan. 21, 1829.*

[By Rev. Samuel Gutelius, Hanover, Pa. per Hon. A. King, ....	\$10
By Rev. Nicholas Patterson, per the General Agent, .....	3
Mrs. Lucy Minor, of Fredericksburg, Va. as follows, viz.	
Contributed by a Juvenile Society at Edgewood, Hanover Co'ty.	
Virginia, .....	\$10
Ditto by a similar So'y at St. Martins' Parish, Han'r. Co. Va. 10—	20
A Christmas offering, from a warm friend in Hagestown, Md. ...	10
Asa Hammond, Esq. of Claiborne, Alabama, .....	1
W. Frye, Esq. of ditto, .....	5
G. W. Dillingham, of Clinton, Jones County, Georgia, to constitute himself a member for 18 years, .....	18
Miss Francina Cheston, of West River, Md. per F. S. Key, Esq.	600
A few friends in Lynchburg, Va. being the sum required by the	
Rev. Jos. Turner and family, for a passage to the Colony	
at Liberia, .....	
From a gentleman of Washington, a loan from him, .....	800
Rev. William Hawley, collected by him in the Episcopal Church,	
at Troy, New York, .....	
Mrs. Brewster of Pa. per C. C. Harper, Esq. ....	5
Rev. J. J. Robertson, formerly of Baltimore, .....	4
Dr. Alex. Somerville, of Essex Co. Va. per Hon. C. F. Mercer,	14
Wm. E. Beckwith, Esq. of Fairfax County, Va. per ditto, .....	15*
Auxiliary Society, Berkely County, Va. per Mr. Pendleton, ....	30
Ditto, Ann Arundell Co. Md. per A. Randall, Esq. .	48 52
Ditto, Liberty Town, Fred. Co. Md. per R. Potts, Esq.	82
Ladies' Auxiliary Society, Georgetown, D. C. their first donation,	
per Mrs. Southern, Treasurer, .....	
Collections at sundry times, by Rev. Messrs. Emory and Waugh,	
by the hands of Mr. James Connell, .....	51 23
Collections by Rev. William Jackson, of Alex. as follows:	
Mr. Entwistle, .....	\$3
Mr. Cowing, .....	\$1
Mrs. Magruder, ... ..	1
A friend, ... ..	3
Mrs. Henderson, .....	2
William Jackson, .....	2— 12
Collection by Presbyterian Congregation, at New Lisbon, Colum-	
bus, Ohio, per Hon. Mr. Sloane, .....	
Collection by ditto at Middlebury, Va. per Rev. Dr. Williamson,	3 81
Some person unknown, deposited in Bank to credit of the Treas-	
urer, on the 2d August, 1828, .....	
	18 52
	<hr/>
	\$1,932 93

\* \$6 of this for the Repository.



### Form of a Constitution for an Auxiliary Society.

1st. This Society shall be called \_\_\_\_\_, and shall be auxiliary to the State Colonization Society, (where such exists) or to the American Colonization Society.

2d. The object to which it shall be exclusively devoted, shall be to aid the parent Institution at Washington, in the colonization of the Free People of colour of the United States on the coast of Africa—and to do this not only by the contribution of money, but by the exertion of its influence to promote the formation of other Societies.

3d. An annual subscription of \_\_\_\_\_ shall constitute an individual a member of this Society; and the payment, at any one time, of \_\_\_\_\_ a member for life.

4th. The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, and \_\_\_\_\_ Managers; Secretary and Treasurer, to be elected annually by the Society.

5th. The President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer, shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Managers.

6th. The Board of Managers shall meet to transact the business of the Society \_\_\_\_\_

7th. The Treasurer shall keep the accounts of the Society, as well as take charge of its funds, and hold them subject to an order of the Board of Managers.

8th. The Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, under the direction of the Board Managers, both with the parent Institution and other Societies.

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**(P) A number of Copies of the Sixth, Seventh, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Annual Reports, are on hand, and will be sent to any Individuals, who may apply for them to R. R. GURLEY, Secretary.**